THE TEXAS GERMAN LANGUAGE OF THE WESTERN HILL COUNTRY

by Gilbert J. Jordan

Texas German is far removed, both in space and character, from Central European German, from which it derived. Nevertheless, there are still great similarities between the two language groups, as Joseph Wilson has pointed out in the preceding article. Through the stabilizing influence of the early German-Texan press, the German teachers and preachers, and the German homes and communities, the language remained structurally standard. To be sure, certain folkish and dialect variants were brought to Texas by the immigrants, and these forms lived on in Texas. Later, as the stabilizing influences began to wane, and the contact with Germany decreased, the non-standard forms of the language took deeper root and they were ultimately regarded in Texas as a kind of colloquial standard. Several other studies have been made by Fred Eikel, Glenn Gilbert, and Wilson, and their findings record the basic variations in grammar and vocabulary in Texas German.[1] I shall review and stress below some of the more prominent features of the Texas German of my Hill Country home, the area around Fredericksburg, New Braunfels, and Mason, and then record some of the more colorful vocabulary developments.

One of the most obvious deviations from standard German can be seen in the loss or the decreased use of the dative and genitive cases. By the end of the nineteenth century, very few people in Texas, aside from teachers, preachers, and newspaper writers, used the German dative case as an indirect object in sentences such as these: *Ich gebe dem Bruder ein Buch* 'I give the brother a book'; *Ich zeige dem Kind ein Bild* 'I show the child a picture'; *Ich bringe der Schwester den Brief* 'I bring the sister the letter.' Most people used the better known accusative case (direct object form): *den Bruder, das Kind,* and *die Schwester.* The same is true of personal pronouns used in such sentences. Instead of *ihm* and *ihr*, the usage preferred *ihn, es*, and *sie*. This replacement of the dative by the accusative also occurred in prepositional phrases, in constructions such as: *mit dem Mann* 'with the man,' *zu ihr* 'to her,' and *aus der Bibel* 'from the Bible,' which became *mit den Mann, zu sie,* and *aus die Bibel.*

Gilbert Jordan is Professor of German, Emeritus, at Southern Methodist University.

Interesting to note in this connection, however, is the fact that Texas German retained the dative form *wem* 'whom' of the interrogative pronoun *wer* 'who' and lost the accusative *wen* 'whom,' just as English retained the originally dative *whom*. Thus we have sentences like: *Wem hast du heute gesehen*? 'Whom did you see today?'; *Für wem tust du das*? 'For whom are you doing that?'

There was also a widespread loss of the genitive or possessive case in Texas German. In the forms of the interrogative pronoun *wer*, the genitive *wessen* 'whose' disappeared almost completely, leaving only the nominative *wer* and the dative *wem* forms. Instead of the genitive form *wessen*, the archaic and folkish *wem sein* (literally 'whom his') was preferred. Thus instead of the standard German question *Wessen Haus ist das*? 'Whose house is that?,' popular use substituted *Wem sein Haus ist das*? The same kind of alternate construction was substituted for the genitive or possessive in sentences like *Dies ist das Haus meines Freundes* 'This is the house of my friend,' and the statement came out as *Dies ist mein Freund sein Haus* (literally, 'This is my friend his house'). This usage is similar to the older English construction "This is Lord Buckingham his castle," used instead of the genitive: "This is Lord Buckingham's castle." Although this older English construction is long forgotten, such German forms are still current in Texas German, and one hears phrasings like *Karl sein Haus* 'Karl his house' = 'Karl's house,' *die Tante ihre Schwester* 'the aunt her sister' = 'auntie's sister,' and *Grotes ihre Ranch* 'Grotes their ranch' = 'Grotes' ranch.'

There are also some deviations in plurals, especially in the *s*-plural of nouns. Sometimes the *s*-ending was added to other German plurals (as in the colloquial standard *die Jungens* for *die Jungen* 'boys'), e.g., *die Lehrers* for *die Lehrer* 'teachers,' and *die Fächers* for *die Fächer* 'hand fans.' Of course, in English loanwords the *s*-plurals were almost always borrowed along with the nouns, as in *der Sparkplug*, plural *die Sparkplugs; die Road*, plural *die Roads; das Rope*, plural *die Ropes*. In a few cases, however, a German plural was used on an English loanword, as for example: *die Fence*, plural *die Fencen; die Box*, plural *die Boxen*; and *der Mule*, plural *die Mulen*.

One deviation quite common among speakers of Hill Country Texas German is the use of the familiar pronouns *du* 'you, thou' and *ihr* 'ye, you' (plural) in most situations.[2] This means that there is an almost total absence of the polite or conventional pronoun *Sie* 'you' (singular and plural). These *Sie* forms (*Sie, Ihrer, Ihnen, Sie*) are, of course, still standard in central Europe in business, among strangers, and in all conventional situations where familiarity is to be avoided. The older (capitalized) formal *Ihr* (as singular and plural) was for all practical purposes the only polite usage known to the average speakers of Texas German in the western Hill Country.

The German Texans were quite casual; even former noblemen dropped the *von* titles and, like their commoner neighbors, they used the familiar pro-

nouns *du* and *ihr*. By the beginning of the twentieth century very few people in the Hill Country knew the *Sie* forms, so they said *du* to everybody, to strangers as well as friends, to dignitaries as well as common folk. This has sometimes surprised recent German visitors in Texas, but there was never any disrespect intended. When Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany visited Lyndon Johnson on his ranch in 1961, and they went to Fredericksburg for a speech and a reception, the Chancellor was probably addressed sometimes by the familiar *du*. Or he might have heard the older polite pronoun *Ihr*, and if he had not been briefed beforehand, he might have been startled a bit.

The greatest change in Texas German was in vocabulary. The one hundred years, roughly 1845 to 1945, when Texas German developed and was in its prime, were a century of tremendous change. The German settlers who came to Texas in the mid-1800s knew nothing about automobiles, trucks, tractors, road graders, airplanes, telephones, phonographs, radio, television, electric lights, batteries, and electric motors, because these modern inventions did not exist at that time. Consequently, the vast technological vocabulary and the everyday speech relating to these matters were unknown. Moreover, many other aspects of life in Texas were new to the Germans, such as large-scale ranching and farming, games like baseball, etc., and when they were faced with this new life and livelihood, they encountered all the new situations primarily in English.

The result of this enormous bombardment of new technological and agricultural vocabulary was the extensive influx of English words into Texas German and the incorporation of many new expressions in the everyday language. Meanwhile, the people in Germany experienced the same changes —indeed in some cases they produced them—and they coined a whole new vocabulary largely unknown to the isolated German settlers in Texas. So while Germany built up its new vocabulary in Europe, the German Texans borrowed the needed terms from English, and hundreds of English words slipped in easily by default.

At first the borrowed words may have seemed somewhat foreign, but they were indispensable and soon they were generally accepted and Germanized. Ultimately the people could not differentiate in many cases between genuine German words and the English borrowings. After all, there are thousands of cognates or related words in English and German that are quite similar, as for example: "the house" and *das Haus*, "the mouse" and *die Maus*, "the hand" and *die Hand*, "the shoulder" and *die Schulter*, etc. For this reason the people soon felt the same relationship existed between "the rope" and *das Rope* (Ger. *das Seil*), "the fence" and *die Fence* (Ger. *der Zaun*), "the car" and *die Car* (Ger. *der Wagen*).

In such cases as *das Rope* and *die Fence*, there were perfectly good German words available and known to the people, but they neglected them or failed to adapt them to new situations, using instead the English terms. In most cases,

however, the German Texans had no words at all for the new situations and things. In this respect they were linguistically impoverished in German. No wonder the English words were absorbed eagerly and they were quickly Germanized, for example the English nouns being assigned German *die-der-das* gender. There are many such nouns, most of them related to technological and agricultural matters, e.g., *die Car, der Sparkplug, das Steeringwheel, der Blowout, die Exhaustpipe, das Runningboard, der Pasture, der Cornsheller, der Cultivator, die Hack* (vehicle), *die Cotton, der Roundup*, etc.

Compound nouns, made up of German and English words, are especially interesting. Good illustrations of such combinations are: *die Steinfence* 'stone fence,' *die Riegelfence* 'rail fence,'*die Stacheldrahtfence* 'barbed wire fence,' *das Butchermesser* 'butcher knife,' *der Mesquitebaum* 'mesquite tree,' *das Lokshaus* 'log house,' *die Mehlbox* 'flour box,' *die Sattelbags* 'saddle bags,' *der Gummitire* 'rubber tire,' *der Wassertank* 'water tank,' *die Kuhpenne* 'cow-pen,' *die Schweinepenne* 'pigpen,' *das Smokehaus* 'smokehouse,' *der Feuercracker* 'fire cracker,' and *die Eisenbahntracks* 'railway tracks.' There are also a number of mixed phrases, made up of German and English words, like *Vieh dippen* 'dip cattle,' *Vieh ropen* 'rope cattle,' *Vieh aufrounden* 'round up cattle,' *Wasser scrapen* 'scrape or dig in the sand for water,' *Schweine butchern* 'butcher hogs,' *die Kuh dehornen* 'dehorn the cow,' *die Car aufjacken* 'jack up the car,' *den Tire aufpumpen* 'pump up the tire,' *die Wurst smoken* 'smoke the sausage,' *zur Campmeeting gehen* 'go to the camp meeting,' *die Car fahren* 'drive the car,' *den Draht stretchen* 'stretch the wire,' *mit dem Sixshooter schiessen* 'shoot with the six-shooter,' *das Feld einfencen* 'fence in the field,' and many others.

Borrowed verbs were almost always given regular principal parts in German and they were conjugated like German verbs, for example: *cranken, crankte, habe gecrankt* 'crank, cranked, have cranked.' Texas Germans would say: *Ich crank' die Car* 'I crank the car,' *Ich werde die Car cranken* 'I will crank the car,' *Ich habe die Car gecrankt* 'I have cranked the car.'

The speakers of Texas German also had no readily available telephone terminology. Therefore, they borrowed English words and Germanized them, for example, nouns like *der Receiver* and *die Central*, and verbs like *connecten* 'connect' and *aufringen* 'ring up or call.' Since the verb *ringen* exists in German, although with a different meaning ('to wrestle' or 'to wring'), its irregular verb forms are transferred to the Anglicism. We would say: *Ich habe den Receiver aufgehängt* 'I have hung up the receiver' and *Ich habe meinen Freund aufgerungen* 'I have called up my friend.' Any German-speaking person from Europe hearing the latter expression would be amused because he would understand: "I have wrung up my friend." Another amusing expression is: *Wir meeten* (Ger. *treffen*) *uns heute in Town* 'We'll meet in town today.' Again a German would misunderstand completely because he would hear *Wir mieten uns heute in Town* 'We'll rent each other in town today.'

There are a number of similar expressions or idioms in Texas German that Germans would find hilariously funny or totally beyond their comprehension. Here are some such expressions: *Ich habe die Kuh geropt* 'I have roped the cow'; *Die Kuh ist über die Fence gejumpt* 'The cow jumped over the fence'; *Das hat mich aber getickelt* 'That really tickled (amused) me'; *Wir haben eine gute Zeit gehabt* 'We had a good time'; *Das ist sure interessant* 'That is surely interesting'; *Das beat doch alles* 'That really beats everything.' In the last case, a German would think the speaker was saying *Das biet't doch alles* 'That really offers everything.'

The pronunciation of most of the Germanized English words resembles the English, but in many cases there is a distinct German flavor and a strong German intonation. No German Texan would say "smokehouse"; the expression always came out as *Schmokehaus*; "log house" became *Lokshaus*, and "Cotton" was pronounced *Kutton*. "Steeringwheel" would be *Schtieringviel*, "sparkplug" was *Schparkpluk*, and "store" was pronounced *Schtohr*.

The pronunciation of standard German words was similar to the sound system in Germany, but certain peculiarities became more prominent in Texas. The *Umlaut* distinctions were generally ignored. Consequently, *ä* became *e* (*spät* pronounced *spet*, late), *ö* became *e* (*schön* pronounced *schen*, beautiful), *ü* became *i* (*kühl* pronounced *kihl*, cool). The letter *r* was trilled in certain positions, as in *treu* 'true,' but in others it was lost completely, so that *lieber Bruder* 'dear brother' came out as *lieba Bruda*, Ernst Jordan's name sounded like *Enst Yoddan*, *fahren* 'to drive' was simply *fahn*, *Geburtstag* 'birthday' was pronounced *Gebutstag*, and *schwarz* 'black' became *schwatz*. Other letters were similarly elided. The endings in *wohnen* 'reside' and in *kommen* 'come' were lost, and the words became monosyllabic as *wohn* and *komm* in sentences like these: *Wir wohn in Mason* 'We live in Mason' and *Wir komm nach Haus* 'We come home.'

As the German Texans learned to speak English, certain familiar sounds were carried over into the new language, and an unmistakable German accent became normal in the English pronunciation among German settlers. This can still be heard most clearly in the pronunciation of certain consonants. In general, the final *b*, *d*, and *g* were hardened in English, as they are in German. Thus words like *rob*, *barb*, and *rib* were pronounced *rop*, *barp*, and *rip*, for example: "He broke a *rip* venn he fell." The words *hand*, *land*, and *had* became *hant*, *lant*, and *hat*, as in "I *hat* a sore *hant*." A similar hardening occurred in the final *g* in words like *dog*, *hog*, and *log*, and they sounded like *dok*, *hok*, and *lok*: "He hat a goot hok dok."

Also the final and intermediate *th* sounds hardened into a *t*. In these cases *both* became *bot*; *bother*, *botter*; and *nothing*, *notting*. The initial *th* sound caused much trouble and frequently resulted in a *d*, for example: *dat* for *that*, *denn* for *then*, *dere* for *there*, and *dirty* for *thirty*. A similar problem was presented by the initial *w* and *wh*, which became *v* sounds among some

German Texans in words like *vas* for *was*, *vindow* for *window*, *visky* for *whisky*, and *vork* for *work*.

The *s* sound at the beginning of words presented something of a problem. Many people voiced this *s* sound as in German *sein* (pronounced *zine*), and the sound came out regularly as an English *z*. Thus *sink* became *zink*, *see* was pronounced *zee* and *salt* sounded like *zalt*.

A very common variant was heard in the pronunciation of the initial *sm*, *sp*, and *st*. As in German, the *s* in these combinations was pronounced as German *sch* (English *sh*), which resulted in pronunciations like *schmall, schmear*, and *schmoke*; *schpeak, schpit*, and *schpook*; *schtiff, schtore*, and *schtorm*. For example: "*Dey schtayt in de olt house to see dat schpook*" 'They stayed in the old house to see that spook.' There were other trouble spots in the English pronunciation of the early settlers, but these problems were gradually overcome by continual contact with English speakers. Nevertheless, the influence of German pronunciation can still be heard here and there, especially in settlements that are predominantly of German ethnic stock.

There was also a strong influence of German vocabulary on English usage. One characteristic trend can still be observed occasionally in the superabundance of adverbs used idiomatically, in addition to their normal use for expressing time, place, manner, and degree of action. These expressions are derived from a number of German intensifying adverbs, such as *doch, ja, noch, schon*, and *einmal*, which are sometimes rendered literally in English by German Texans by means of adverbs which seem superfluous to the English speaker, e.g., already, yet, so soon, once, once more, again, indeed, still, why, all right, etc. In standard English the same effect is often achieved by stressing the verb or some other word in the sentence, but in the English of German Texans, adverbs are employed for this purpose, as in German. Here are a few examples:

English: "Hurry up; it's *late*,"
German: *Mach schnell; es ist schon spät*,
Texas-German English: "Hurry up; it's already late."

English: "He is coming *early*,"
German: *Er kommt schon früh*,
Texas-German English: "He is coming early already."

English: "That *is* stupid,"
German: *Das ist doch dumm*,
Texas-German English: "That is indeed dumb."

English: "I *do* know that,"
German: *Ich weiss das doch*,
Texas-German English: "I know that all right."

English: "They are coming *again* (*once more*),"
German: *Sie kommen noch einmal,*
Texas-German English: "They are coming once again."

English: "Let's go *to town*."
German: *Gehen wir doch mal in die Stadt,*
Texas-German English: "Let's go to town once."

English: "Do you want another coffee?"
German: *Willst du noch einen Kaffee?*
Texas-German English: "Do you want still another coffee?"

English: "What *is* that?"
German: *Was ist das denn?*
Texas-German English: "What is that then?"

English: "Is he still coming?"
German: *Kommt er doch noch?*
Texas-German English: "Is he coming yet?"

Some German idioms were translated literally into English, and these expressions add a special flavor to the English of German Texans. When you hear someone say "The bread is all" (German: *Das Brot ist alle*), he means "The bread is all gone."

Texas German is still spoken in parts of the Texas Hill Country. If you keep your ears pricked and are lucky, you might hear some unusual "gems" in some of the German settlements. Several years ago I heard the following dialogue between two high-school boys at a filling station in Fredericksburg:

Was machst du denn da, du gol dern Hund? (What are you doing there, you gosh darn dog?) *Wir woll'n doch Baseball spiel'n* (We want to play baseball), asked the boy who arrived at the filling station.

Ich muss die Pickup da erst mal greasen und das Oil changen (I have to grease that pickup and change the oil), replied the boy who was working at the place.

Musst du auch den Flat fixen? (Do you have to fix the flat, too?)

No, ich muss bloss den Tire aufpumpen. Das is kein Puncture; das is nur ein Slow-Leak. (No, I just have to pump up the tire. It's not a puncture; it's just a slow leak.)

Well, mach' schnell, dass du fertig wirst. Wenn du deine Twobits geearnt hast, dann komm vorbei, und wir spiel'n dann Baseball. (Well, hurry up and get finished. When you have earned your two bits, come by, and we'll play baseball.)

German-English bilingualism produced some interesting anecdotes which are based upon slight misunderstandings.[3] The widely circulated tale about Sheriff Klaerner, the Elder, of Fredericksburg is a case in point. The sheriff,

who was well liked and admired by the people, let it be known that he had a horse for sale. When an Anglo buyer came and saw the horse, he said: "That's a good horse; I'll buy him." Said Sheriff Klaerner: "But I must tell you, dat horse don't look goodt." "Looks good to me," said the man, "I'll take him." And he paid for the horse and rode off proudly, leading the strong and sleek horse. A week later he brought back the horse and said: "Say, Herr Klaerner, that horse is blind and can't see a darn thing. I want my money back." "I tolt you dat horse don't look goodt," replied Klaerner.

Another story based on a misunderstanding tells about a German-Texan widow who ordered a tombstone for the grave of her departed husband. She wanted the inscription to read *Ruhe sanft* (Rest in peace, literally: gently) and she wanted it on both sides of the stone (*auf beiden Seiten*). The stonecutter, who was not completely conversant with German, wrote down a memo for himself and in a few days proceeded to carve the epitaph on the stone. Some months later the memorial was finished and set up in the usual fashion with its newly engraved inscription on the grave side. When the widow came to inspect the headstone, the carver proudly showed her the engraving, but the lady was astounded at the sight of the epitaph because it read: *Ruhe sanft auf beiden Seiten.*

Even the few blacks in the Hill Country spoke German, and they identified more with German Texans than they did with the Anglos in their midst. The story is told about one such black, who knew German so well that he could speak it in dialect form. During World War I, when German Texans were persecuted and hounded for their German ancestry and language, the black spoke up in German dialect and told his fellow townsmen on the streets of Fredericksburg: *Mir Deutscha müssa zusammahalta* (*Wir Deutschen müssen zusammenhalten*: We Germans must stick together).

Herr Hermann Standke, who lived on the Willow Creek in Mason County, also had an amusing misunderstanding when he was peddling a towsack full of chickens in Mason. Mr. J. W. White, the rich Anglo banker and the prospective buyer who could not speak or understand German well, said: "Most of those fryers are good and I'll take them, but two are too small." Now the English word "small" is etymologically related to the German word *schmal* and is pronounced similarly, but the German word means "narrow." When Mr. Standke heard that two of his chickens were too "narrow" (*schmal*), his Teutonic temper flared up, and he proclaimed in his Swabian-German dialect that those two chickens were just as *breit* 'broad' as the rest, only a bit *klein* 'small.'

The German Hill Country still abounds in typical German names. There are Arhelgers, Bernhards, Bickenbachs, Brandenbergers, Dannheims, Ellebrachts, Geistweidts, Hasses, Hoersters, Hofmanns, Kellers, Kothmanns, Lehmanns, Lehmbergs, Lemburgs, Metzgers, Muellers, Reichenaus, Schmidts, Schoenfelds, Splittgerbers, Wartenbachs, Willmanns, Wissemanns,

and hundreds of others. Changes have been extremely rare. I know of only one translation, and that is the one from Fuchs to Fox. Long and difficult names were occasionally shortened, like Sassmannshausen to Sassmann, but most of the difficult names have remained unchanged, for example: Schmidzensky. There was some Anglicizing in the spelling, like the usual transcribing of the *ä, ö*, and *ü* to *ae, oe*, and *ue*: Löffler to Loeffler, Plünneke to Pluenneke and Schüssler to Schuessler. Also some people with names ending in the suffix *-mann* dropped the final *n*, for example, Wiedeman.

Before the turn of the century, given names reflected the German ancestry almost as well as the family names did. Thus we find an array of names like Amanda, Anna (later changed to Annie, Anne, or Ann), Adolph, Albert, Anton, Bertha, Christian, Christina, Christiana, Christoph, Conrad, Daniel (Dan), Emilie (later changed to Emily), Ernst (Ernest), Emma, Eduard (Edward), Elisabeth (Lisette, Lizzie), Friedrich (Fritz, Fred), Franz (Frank, Francis), Gottlieb, Gustav, Heinrich (Henry), Hermann, Johann (John), Johanna, Karl (Carl, Charlie, Charles), Karolina (Lina, Lena), Katharina (Catherine), Ludwig (Louis), Luisa (Louise), Maria (Mary, Marie), Max, Meta, Otto, Peter (Pete), Rudolph, Sophie, Theresa, Theodor, Wilhelm (William, Willy, Will, Bill), Wilhelmina (Mina, Minnie, Minna), and Walter. In many cases the English forms or the abbreviations shown in parentheses above were used. After 1900 many English given names were adopted and they are now taking the place of the old German names, for example: Brenda, Chester, Clarence, Clifford, Mayfield, Mildred, Myrtle, Wayne, and Wesley.

German place names still exist throughout the German Belt of Texas. In the Hill Country, the names of three county seats are German: Boerne (Kendall County), Fredericksburg (Gillespie County), and New Braunfels (Comal County). In addition to these larger towns there are many small communities and villages with German names. In Bexar County we have places like Elmendorf and St. Hedwig; in Comal County: Bracken, Fischer, Gruene, Startzville, and Sattler; in Gillespie County: Albert, Doss, Eckert, and Luckenbach; in Guadalupe County: Barbarossa, New Berlin, Scherz, Weinert, Zorn, and Zuehl; in Kendall County: Bergheim and Lindendale; in Llano County: Castell; and in Mason County: Hedwigs Hill and Hilda. Many of the original German immigrants established small rural settlements that have disappeared or have been renamed. In Mason County alone there were at least five such places, and all had the suffix *-ville* added to German family names: Bodeville, Grossville, Hoersterville, Plehweville, and Simonville.

In conclusion I will append a selected list of English loanwords in common use in Hill Country German. Most of these words would be valid also for the Texas German of other parts of the state, although there are naturally some differences. The spelling of the words follows English in most cases, therefore it does not indicate the German pronunciation. As has been described above, the pronunciation is a somewhat Germanized form of the local Texas English

norm. Gender of nouns is shown by the German articles: *die* (feminine), *der* (masculine), and *das* (neuter). In some cases the gender varies, as shown, and these variations depend on the different speakers and their place of residence, but in general the gender is amazingly uniform throughout the area. I was assisted by several informants in corroborating the gender of the nouns. The plurals of the loanwords have kept the English *-s* or *-es* endings in almost all cases. Verbs are listed with their Germanized infinitive endings: *-n* or *-en*. All these verbs have regular German forms: *ropen, ropte, geropt* 'rope, roped, roped,' except those adapted from German, like *ringen* and *brennen*.

Das Airrifle, all right, das Antifreeze, anyway, arresten, aufjacken 'jack up a wheel,' *aufpicken* 'pick up a thing' (an extension of a standard German verb), *aufringen* 'ring up a person on the phone,' *aufrounden* 'round up cattle,' *die* or *das Axlegrease,*

der Barbershop, der or *die Barn, das Barrel, der Base* (in baseball), *der Baseball* (the ball), *das Baseball* (the game), *das Bat* (in baseball), *batten* 'bat a ball,' *die Battery* 'dry cell or storage battery,' *der Belt, das Bermudagras* (the latter part of the word is German), *der Bicycle, der Biscuit, das Blackboard, die Blackberry, der Blanket, der Bottom* 'river bottom,' *die Box* (pl., *die Boxen*), *das Boxsupper, der Bollweevil, die Brake, der Brand* 'cattle brand,' *das Breakfastfood, brennen* (Ger. verb used in new meaning: 'brand cattle'), *der Bridle, der Buffalo, die Buggy, die Buggywhip, die Bullwhip, der Bumper* (of car), *der Bunch, der Butcher, butchern* (alternate for Ger. *schlachten*), *das Butchermesser* 'butcher knife,'

der Cake (cow feed), *die Campmeeting, der Candle, der Candy, cannen* 'to can food,' *die Car, der Carburetor, der Cashier* (in bank), *cashen* 'cash checks,' *catchen, der Catcher* (in baseball), *der Cattleguard, die Ceiling, der Cent, die Central* 'telephone operator,' *changen* 'change' (oil or tires), *chasen* 'chase cattle,' *cheaten, der Chickencoop, der Chinabaum* 'Chinaberry tree' (pl., *-bäume*), *choken* 'choke the engine,' *der Choker* (on car), *die Chute, die Civet Cat, die Clippers* (pl., for cutting hair), *der Clerk, die Clutch, das Coal-oil, der Coathanger, die Cockleburr, der Collar* (horse collar), *der Commissioner* (office holder), *connecten* 'make a telephone connection,' *der Cookie, das Corn* (in the common American usage for Indian corn, not grain), *das Cornbrot* 'corn bread,' *die Corncob, der Corncrusher, die Cornflakes* (pl.), *der Cornsheller, die Cotton, der Cottonseed* (cow feed), *der Cottontail* (rabbit), *das County, der County Clerk, die Country, das Courthaus, der Coyote, der Cowboy, die Cowhunt, der Cracker, der Crank* (on car), *cranken* 'crank a car,' *das Cream of Wheat, die Creek, crossen* 'cross' (a creek or river), *die Crossing, die Crowbar, der Cultivator, cultivaten, der Culvert, die* or *das Cupgrease, die Curtains* (pl., curtains on an open car), *der Curveball,*

die Daisy (flower), *dehornen* 'dehorn cattle,' *depositen* 'deposit money,' *der Depot* 'railroad station,' *die Desk* (school desk), *die Dewberry, der Dime, die Dip, dippen* 'dip cattle,' *die Dippingvat, der Discplow, die District Court, dodgen* 'dodge,' *der Doppeltree* 'double tree,' *die Drahtfence* 'wire fence,' *drillen* 'drill a well,' *der Driller, der Drugstore, der Drygoodsstore,*

die Eggplant, die Engine (motor of a car), *einfencen* 'to fence in a field,' *die Eisenbahntracks* 'railway tracks,' *die Exhaustpipe,*

der Fairball (in baseball), *der Fan* (car fan or electric fan), *der Fanbelt, die Farm, farmen, der Farmer, der Farmhand, feeden* 'to feed gas,' *die Fence* (pl., *die Fencen*), *fencen, der Fenceposten* 'fence post,' *der Fender, der Firecracker* or *Feuercracker, der Fielder* (baseball), *fighten, fixen* 'fix a flat tire' or 'fix supper,' *das Flashlight, der Flat, der Flattire, der Float* (on water trough), *der Flyball, das Flywheel, die Fountainpen, die Fruitjar,*

die Gallery 'porch,' *das Game, der Gasfeeder, das Gasoline, die Gasoline-gauge, der Gasolinetank, der Gastank, die Gate, die Gears* (pl., gears of a car), *der Gearshifter, der Gearshiftlever, der Generator, der Germ* 'bacteria,' *giggeln, der Gopher, graden* 'to grade a road,' *die Grapejuice, der Gravel, die Gravelroad, greasen* 'to grease' (a car), *grinden* 'to grind valves,' *der Grocery-store,*

die Hack (vehicle), *der Haircut, die Hall* (in a house), *der Handle, der Hardwarestore, der Hatchet, das Heifer, der Highway, der Hit* (baseball), *homemade, die Homeplate* (baseball), *der Homerun* (baseball), *die* or *der Honeysuckle, der Hood* (of a car), *die Hubcap* (of a car), *der Hurricane,*

der Jack (for a car), *der Jackrabbit, der Judge, das Judgment, jumpen, kicken, killen, das Kindling, die Kuhpenne* 'cowpen,'

der Lawnmower, das Leapfrog (game), *das Logshaus* 'log house,' *der Longhorn, die Lot* 'a small pasture or pen,' *das Lube, das Lubricatingoil, das Lumber, lynchen, die Lynching,*

das Maize 'grain,' *marken* 'to mark livestock on ears,' *die* or *der Match* (for lighting fire), *der Maverick, das Meal* (cow feed), *meeten* 'to meet someone,' *die Meeting* 'group meeting,' *die Mehlbox* (pl., *Mehlboxen*) 'flour box,' *der Mesquitebaum* (pl. *-bäume*) 'mesquite tree,' *das Mesquiteholz* 'mesquite stove wood,' *der Molasses, der Monkeywrench, der Mop, die Mosquito, der* or *das Mud* (pronounce Mut), *muddy* or (Germanized) *muttig, der Muffler* (on car), *der Mule* (with pronounced final *e*; pl. *Mulen*), *das Mumblepeg* (game),

das or *die Napkin, die Necktie, der Nickel* (coin), *no, der Norther* or Germanized *Norder,*

das Oatmeal, die Office, O.K. 'okay,' *der Orchard, das Outfit, der Outlaw,*

der Parlor, die Party 'social gathering,' *die Patete* (pl., *Pateten*) 'sweet potato,' *der Pasture, paven* 'pave a road,' *die Peach, der Peachbaum* (pl., *-bäume*) 'peach tree,' *die Peanut, die Peas* (always pl.) 'field peas,' *die Pecan, der Pecanbaum* (pl., *-bäume*) 'pecan tree,' *der Pecanbottom* 'pecan bottom,'

die Penne 'pen,' *der Phone, die Phonebox, phonen, die Petunia, der* or *das Piano, picken* (German verb in new meaning: 'pick cotton'), *die Pickle, die* or *der Pickup* (truck), *das* or *der Picnic, der Pigtail* (baseball), *pitchen* (baseball, dollars, horseshoes), *der Pitcher* (baseball), *der Pitcher* 'milk pitcher,' *der Piston* (on car), *die Platform* 'stage or podium,' *plenty, die Pliers, der Pie, polishen* (car or shoes), *das Popcorn, poppen* 'pop popcorn,' *die Porch, der* or *die Possum, der Postoakbaum* (pl., *-bäume*) 'post-oak tree,' *das Postoakholz* 'post-oak stove wood,' *die Postoffice, der Prairiehund* (pl., *-hunde*) 'prairie dog,' *die Prairieschlange* (pl., *-schlangen*) 'prairie snake,' *das Preserve* (usually pl., *die Preserves*), *das Property, der Pulley* (block and tackle), *die Pumpkin* or *die Bunkus* or *die Punkus, der Puncture* (of tire),

die Quilt (pl., *die Quilts* or *Quilten*), *quilten,*

der Radiator (of car), *racen* (cars or horses), *die Railroad* (variant for *die Eisenbahn*), *raisen* (horses, cattle, or crops), *die Ranch, ranchen, der Ranchman, der Receiver* (of telephone), *den Receiver aufhängen* 'hang up the receiver,' *der Recess* (in school), *die* or *der Reunion, die Riegelfence* 'rail fence,' *der Rim* (on car wheel), *der Ring* 'a ring on the phone,' *der* or *die Ringtail, der River* (variant for *der Fluss*), *die Road, der Roadgrader, die Roasting Ears* (pl.) 'corn on cob,' *der Roman Candle, das Rope, ropen, die* or *der Roundup, der Rowbinder, der Rug, das Runningboard,*

der Saloon, der Satchel, scrapen 'scrape or dig' (tanks or water holes for cattle), *der Scraper, die Schweinepenne* 'pigpen,' *der Screwdriver, der Screwworm, der Screwwormkiller, die Saddlebags* or Germanized *Sattelbags* (always pl.), *der Sattelblanket, das* or *der Sattelhorn, der Selfstarter, der Separator* 'cream separator,' *shaken* (hands), *der Shelf, shellen* (corn), *der Sheriff, shiften* (gears), *shippen* (cattle to market), *das Shoat, das Shotgun, shucken* (corn), *die Shutters* (pl.), *der Sidewalk, der Singletree, der* or *die Sink, der Sixshooter, skinnen* (animals), *der Skyrocket, das* or *der Slaw, der Slicker, sliden* (baseball), *der* or *die Slops, smoken* (meat), *das Smokehaus, das Soda, das Sodapop, der Sparetire, der Sparkler, der Sparkplug, spellen, der* or *die Spellingmatch, die Spring* 'spring of car,' *die Squash* (pl., *-es*), *die Stacheldrahtfence* 'barb-wire fence,' *der Stand* 'picnic stand,' *der Starter* (on car), *die Steamengine, das Steeringwheel, die Steinfence* 'stone or rock fence,' *der Stirrup, der Store, der Storekeeper, stretchen* (wire), *das Supper, sure, sure enough, die Surrey, der Sweater,*

tampen 'tamp soil,' *der Tank* 'water reservoir,' *der Target* 'small rifle,' *der Taxcollector, das Thicket, der Tick, tickeln* 'to amuse,' *der Tire, der Top* (of car or other vehicle), *der Tornado, die Tracks* (pl.), *der Tractor, der Traildriver, die Trap* (a large pen or a small pasture), *trappen* (animals), *der Tricycle, der Trough* 'water trough,' *die Truck, der Trunk* (of car),

der Umpire (baseball), *der Universaljoint* (of car),

der Valentine, die Valve (on car), *die Vierbits* 'four bits, 50 cents,'

das Wagonsheet, die Watergap, well (adverb), *die Whip, der Willowbaum* (pl., *-bäume*) 'willow tree,' *das Windshield* (of car), *der Windshieldwiper, der Winchester* (rifle), *witchen* 'to witch water,' *der Woodpecker* (bird), *der Wreck, der Wrench,*

die Yard, yellen,

die Zweibits 'two bits, 25 cents.'

NOTES

This paper is based on an address given at the University of Dallas in Irving, Texas, on May 2, 1977, for the meeting of the North Central Texas Council of the American Association of Teachers of German.

1. Fred Eikel, Jr., *The New Braunfels German Dialect* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1954); Eikel, "The Use of Cases in New Braunfels German," *American Speech* **24** (1949): 278-281; Eikel, "New Braunfels German," *American Speech* **41** (1966): 5-16, 254-260, and **42** (1967): 83-104; Glenn G. Gilbert, ed., *Texas Studies in Bilingualism* (*Studia Linguistica Germanica* 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970); see also Gilbert's article "English Loanwords in the German of Fredericksburg, Texas," in *American Speech* **40** (1965): 102-112; and Joseph B. Wilson, "The Texas German of Lee and Fayette Counties," *Rice University Studies* **47**, No. 1 (1960): 83-98.

2. This is not true of the La Grange and Giddings area, where the *Sie*-form is the common formal singular mode of address, although the older *Ihr* can also be heard; Wilson, "Texas German," p. 95.

3. As usual in the case of such anecdotes, it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. Some of the incidents related here as having happened in Fredericksburg or vicinity are well known in other Texas German areas, where they are attributed to other people.